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ABSTRACT

Democratization of education refers to a process that allows decision-making based on alternatives, guided by the conviction that equity, equality, solidarity, freedom and justice are the essential universal values of mankind. This study examines these criteria in the context of reform strategies in the areas of educational planning and practice. In the first chapter economic and socio-political demands for education are analyzed. The second chapter identifies major obstacles to promoting the democratization of education. In the third chapter a selection of measures is made in reviewing international experience in promoting the democratization of education such as an integrated approach of policy and legislation, innovations for better use of available funds, problem-oriented curricula and abandoning early selection, and positive discrimination policy. The final chapter presents three Third World views concerned with the new political and economic world order rather than with what educational reforms designed for the Third World prescribe. (Author/DB)

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS
OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF EDUCATION
BY TRAUGOTT SCHOFTHALER

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SUMMARY

This study has been prepared within the context of Unesco's action (paragraph 02216 of the Approved Programme and Budget for 1984-1985) aiming to support studies and reforms designed to promote the democratization of education.

In the first chapter, the vicissitudes of economic and socio-political demands for education are analysed. The second chapter identifies major obstacles to promoting the democratization of education. In the third chapter a selection of measures is made in reviewing international experience in promoting the democratization of education such as an integrated approach of policy and legislation, innovations for better use of available funds, problem-oriented curricula and abandoning early selection, positive discrimination policy, etc. The final chapter presents three Third World views concerned with the new political and economic world order rather than with what educational reforms designed for the Third World prescribe.

RESUME

Cette étude a été préparée dans le cadre de l'action de l'Unesco (paragraphe 02216 du Programme et Budget pour 1984-1986) dont l'objectif est d'appuyer les études et les réformes visant à promouvoir la démocratisation de l'éducation.

Dans le premier chapitre sont analysées les vicissitudes de la demande économique et socio-politique de l'éducation. Le deuxième chapitre identifie les obstacles majeurs à la promotion de la démocratisation de l'éducation. Le troisième chapitre contient une sélection de mesures inspirées par l'expérience internationale de la promotion de la démocratisation de l'éducation, telles que l'approche intégrée de la politique et de la législation, les innovations en vue d'une meilleure utilisation des ressources disponibles, les programmes orientés vers la solution des problèmes et l'abandon de la sélection précoce, la politique de "discrimination positive", etc. Le chapitre final présente le point de vue du Tiers Monde, intéressé plutôt par le nouvel ordre économique et politique mondial que par des prescriptions de réformes de leurs systèmes éducatifs élaborées ailleurs.

Introduction

"Obviously the quality of societal development (standard and quality of life) depends essentially on the number and quality of educated people" (Trapero 1985). Social scientists or educationists generalize very often in relating education, economy and society. It seems to be taken for granted that education has a positive impact on economic growth and overall "development" of societies. Hence, the issue seems to be tempting enough for suggesting causal effects of education, even if there is only limited evidence. The higher the aggregate level of factors to be related, the more difficult is the application of statistical models of causality, and the more ideas on likelihood and likeness of those factors -- preexisting in cultural, value and language systems -- are transformed into inferences. This mechanism of processing statistical information into correlations was found as influential in everyday thought as in scientific reasoning (Shweder 1975).

Global inferences about the causal effects of education are mainly based on traditions of generalizing in economy and sociology. For economists, it is the parameter of money invested in education, and for sociologists, it is the variable "years of school attended" or completed, that count for suggesting causality, because of their antecedental nature with regard to the "effects" discussed. The various attempts of economists to measure the output of investments in "human capital" led to very general conclusions, often leaving aside the particularity of statistical evidence presented.

To give a few examples: I. G. Kourakov's (1968) calculations of the rates of return to money invested in the USSR between 1959 and 1965 for raising work-related qualification found them higher than those to investments in production equipment. This was interpreted by

Beztcheriovnykh et al. (1985, p. 81) as proving that "d'un point de vue strictement économique, l'investissement dans l'enseignement est une mesure extrêmement rentable". The classical studies on "human capital" by Schultz (1961; 1964), Denison (1967) or Harbison and Myers (1964), who calculated the contribution of education to economic growth in post-war Western countries, together with Nadiri's (1972) view on less industrialized countries, were summarized by Harbison (1973, p. 3): "Human resources -- not capital nor income nor material resources -- constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations." However, the empirical basis of such an inference seems to demand cautiousness: In using Schultz' model of growth accounting, Psacharopoulos (1973, p. 116) and Nadiri (1972, p. 138) explain percentages between 0.8 (Mexico) and 25 (Canada) of national growth rates by education. The factors taken into account in the Schultz and Denison models are data on education expenditure related to other investments and the disaggregated capital and labour components within growth rates.

More recent approaches brought about rather divergent results. On the one hand, Psacharopoulos and other World Bank staff members included factors such as private budgets, life expectancy, fertility and regional differences in calculating and interpreting "rates of returns to education" ranging from 9 to 44 percent (Psacharopoulos 1984). This research suggests that earlier economists had underestimated rather than overestimated the effects of education on economic growth.

There were, on the other hand, important counterarguments brought forward within the last decade: The "screening hypothesis" (Taubman/Wales 1973) denies that education enhances productivity; its value is identifying the potential of individuals without affecting the global result. Even more sceptical is the "job competition model" (Thurow 1972) arguing that education is allocating individuals to a given status pyr-

amid, without changing a lot. The "credentialist hypothesis" (Collins 1979) holds, in combining earlier skepticism, that credentials provided by the education system are of no social value, or even obstacles to making educational reforms effective. Similarly, economic historians are hesitant in supporting general statements on causal effects of education on economic growth. Easterlin (1981), after comparing historical data from 25 countries, underlined the importance of cultural factors fostering learning motivation. There are many cases of economic growth preceding the expansion of formal schooling, thus transforming the causality question in a sort of chicken-and-egg-problem rather than supporting unidirectional inferences.

This, however, does not prevent contemporary studies from generally concluding, that in the view of economists "there is a direct link between the output of a school system and the overall economic growth and prosperity of the society of which it forms a part" (Mitter 1984, p. 23).

In resuming the views of sociologists, the same author states "that material income, professional standards and social status are dependent on the completion of a certain period of formal schooling" (Mitter 1984, p. 23).

Sociological evidence of this statement is derived from a variety of studies, focussing on different subjects such as labour earnings, employment, migration, mobility, fertility, efficiency, consumption patterns, political interest and participation. The abundance of sociological suggestions of education effects is due to the fact that a sample's educational background normally is easily accessible and quantifiable, and therefore it is included in the list of "independent factors" for explaining the observations at risk. As Moock (1985, p. 1 f.) notes, the effects of education on dependent variables, "measured" in

this way, are "in an astonishing high percentage of studies" found to be statistically significant and "quite often larger ... than that of any other explanatory variable". This forms the background of the pretentious Harvard and Stanford research on the effects of schooling on "modernization". From first field research to the publication of the last interpretation, this group of comparative studies in six developing countries and in disadvantaged (black) areas of the United States spans 20 years (1963-1983). The major volumes published (Inkeles/Smith 1974; Inkeles/Holsinger 1974; Inkeles 1983) combine the macro-level of economic growth, industrialization and development of "modern" administration and political institutions with the micro-level of individual attitudes towards "modernity", thus aiming at an overall explanation of societal development "in statu nascendi". The variables employed do not very much differ from those of the studies resumed by Mitter (1984) and Moock (1985): Years of formal education is one out of ten independent factors to explain "modernity", conceived as positive attitudes towards political information and participation, individual locus of control, preference of individual decision-making over obeying to traditional customs and authorities, and appreciating cognitive flexibility and technical skills. The correlation between education and those "dependent variables" varies from 0.41 to 0.71. The conclusions drawn from these results, however, go far beyond the data base: School as an institution is called the "main factor of societal modernization", and school experience (similar to that of employment in modern institutions such as bureaucratic administration or factories) is seen as creating the individual agents of societal modernization (Inkeles/Holsinger 1974).

There are, however, many inconsistencies involved in this type of drawing inferences from education: Neither the concept of modernity of the samples nor the type of schooling of the regions and countries com-

pared were controlled; while "schools" included any type of formal education, the percentage of "modern" individuals (scores within the upper third of the total sample) varied from 3 to 57 percent across the national samples (Schöffthaler 1985a). In addition, the most recent volume (Inkeles 1983) admits that within industrialized countries there is "post-modernism" widespread among the younger generation, generating lack of political interest and some revival of irrationality. This can be regarded at least as contrary evidence to the generally suggested linear causal relationship between education and modernity.

Even if these modernization studies are the most extreme type of generalizing and simplifying the impact of education on economic and social progress, similar caveats seem to be appropriate regarding their ideological counterpart: The concept of "dependencia" (Frank 1967) as far as it leads to rigorously denying positive impact of education on the development in Third World countries. Particularly European scholars, many of them deceived from meager results of the first development decade around 1970 and trying to cope with their hopes in "revolution" ruined in both Western and Third World countries, concluded that education was "an obstacle to development" (Hanf et al. 1975) or that underdevelopment was strengthened and accelerated by education (Nestvogel 1978) in Third World countries. Very often the strong impetus of this current led to claims for "dissociating" national developments in the Southern hemisphere from industrialized countries (Senghaas 1977). Be this a realistic perspective or not, in counteracting the ideological wave of modernization concepts, those studies have identified important factors that should be taken into consideration when it comes to relating education to economy and society: Following the lines of Galtung's (1971) and Amin's (1976) criticisms of the imbalanced relations between "central" and "peripheral" capitalism in the world's economic system,

particular attention was devoted to the reproduction or implantation of disparities within the economically dependent countries, and particularly to the rôle of education in creating Third World élites, or in stratifying societies which earlier had been organized along the lines of "traditional" subsistence economy, e.g., in tribal "segments". Subsequently, a series of more modest criticisms of the modernization ideology focussed on less generalizing and simplifying perspectives on education in Third World countries. Often the classical analyses of the ambiguous rôle of colonial repression and domination, "causing" subordination as well as revolutionary resistance (from Fanon 1952 to Memmi 1968), were taken up. Hence, recent critical studies emphasize the contradictory effects of educational expansion in Third World countries, ranging from producing needed qualifications to reproducing inequalities (summarizing for Africa: Blakemore/Cooksey 1981; Asia and Latin America: Gladwin 1980).

From the background of the dispute between human capital theorists and the credentialists' concept or the historical chicken-and-egg-problem at the one hand, and of the strong conflict between the sociological modernization and "dependencia" concepts on the other, the range of freedom of relating any education to any notion of economic and social progress should be restricted. This is why "the democratization of education" was chosen as the context of appropriately dealing with the subject. This leads to introducing a qualitative dimension into all reasoning on quantitative effects of education: What type of economic and social progress can be called "democratic", and what type should be considered fostering the opposite? And what type of education is "democratic" rather than élitist, plutocratic or discriminating? The term democratization, however, indicates the impossibility of easily discerning between democratic and non-democratic issues as compared to the

early 19th century (Jouhy 1970, p. 84). It refers to a process, equally important for any existing idea of education and progress. If we talk of democratization as a process, we are searching for criteria that allow decision-making on alternatives, guided by the conviction that equity, equality, solidarity, freedom and justice continue to be the essential universal values of mankind.

The present study concentrates on elaborating such criteria and related concepts of educational planning and practice, with particular emphasis on so-called "inner reforms" of education. Regarding the limited space, the general perspective of educational effects on economy and society must be left with the global review above; it has to be geared to more down-to-earth arguments concerning the design and the implementation of educational reform strategies. Similarly, the international debate on "democratization of education" being well documented (International Yearbook of Education 1984; Unesco 1985), the "democratization" aspect will be concentrated to the dimension of what can be done rather than that of what has been said or agreed upon up to now.

1. The Role of Education in the Economic and Social Progress of Contemporary Society

1.1 The Roots of Formal Education Systems: Economic and Socio-political Exigencies

Whatever theory is used for explaining economic and political developments in modern times, education is assigned a crucial rôle. Marx, in his illuminating analysis of the early capitalist economy's functioning, found some amounts of "complicated labour" more productive than those of "simple labour" (MEW 23, p. 59). Hence, as further elaborated in his "Theories of surplus production" (MEW 26.3), the "degree of skill" of a particular population is considered as an essential part

of the productive potential for further capitalist accumulation and development of the productive forces. For coping with the rapidly changing demands of this industrial transformation the qualification required turns more and more to complete flexibility of labour ("allseitige Beweglichkeit des Arbeiters", MEW 23, p. 511).

Nowadays the later notion is shared by socialist concepts of economic development (Meier 1973, p. 27 ff.) as well as by capitalist concepts of an overall modernization (Inkeles/Smith 1974).

The rôle of education for socio-political developments was traced back by Illich (1979) to the needs of establishing Spanish colonial conquest in America as part of the imperium: The indigenous populations should be made real subjects of the Kastilian kingdom by teaching them Spanish, a project for which systematic schooling was necessary, including the first codification of the Spanish grammar. Some centuries later, when religion and politics were formally separated in many countries, Durkheim (1904/1925) developed the framework of "education for citizenship" and "moral commitment" in order to describe the contribution of education to maintaining and further developing the secular French state. The establishment of nation states in Europe was generally joined by gradual takeover and expansion of educational institutions in order to organize the "inculcation of loyalty" in the citizens (Titze 1973).

Nowadays nearly all political systems of the world express the need of transmitting their particular ideology within the formal education system. Starting from introducing national anthems and symbols to explaining national policies up to wider ideological concepts such as "pluralism", "achieving society" (McClelland 1961) or "socialist democracy", "scientific and class-conscious world view" (Meier 1973, p. 35 ff.) -- the legitimation basis of the socio-political system

seems to rely on formal education.

Before discussing the two sources of society's requests for education from a democratization perspective, it seems appropriate to elaborate on the vicissitudes between them, and to introduce the view of the subjects to be educated.

1.2 The Vicissitudes of Economic and Socio-political Demands for Education

There are "no limits to learning", with regard to the rapid changes of the productive forces in our century. Whatever the level of economic and technical development might be, the systems of formal education expand in nearly all countries of the world. Unesco's summary statistical review of education in the world gives the following data for the years 1960 to 1982: In developing countries, the adjusted gross school enrolment ratio rose from 72.7 to 91.5 percent in primary education, from 16.7 to 40.4 percent on secondary level and from 2 to 6.3 percent in higher education. The data for industrialized countries are given as 100/100, 54.8 to 80.5 percent and 12.8 to 29.8 percent for the three levels of formal education (quoted from Unesco/ED-85, p. 2). The data on developing countries might include certain overestimations (Unesco's 1984 statistical yearbook gives remarkably lower figures for many countries and the World Bank's data, based on completed primary, secondary and higher education, present an 80, 23 and 3 percent ratio, with remarkable regional differences; Mingat and Psacharopoulos 1985, p. 36). But they underline the effects of the world-wide assumption that "education is the principal instrument for providing the skills required by the economy and also for improving the overall levels of efficiency, productivity, technical and managerial performance of the labour force" (Rep. of Ghana, Five-Year Development Plan, 1977, quoted from Little

1984a, p. 87).

The private and public employers' requirements seem to support educational expansion: In the United States, from 1937 to 1967, the "minimum education levels" for all kinds of jobs, from unskilled and semi-skilled to clerical and professional categories, rose between 15 and 60 percent. Whereas in 1937 nearly no applicant for an unskilled job was supposed to have a high school diploma, 30 years later 16 percent of those jobs could not be entered with lower than high school certification; while in 1937 52 percent of the professional jobs required a college degree, in 1967 75 percent of those posts could not be applied for without college degree or even further graduation. For managerial posts, the demands rose even more (Collins 1979, p. 6 ff.). Similar processes of upgrading skill levels seem to occur in developing countries. For the period from 1970 to 1983, a tracer study of University of Nairobi graduates found that many employers required subsequently higher levels of formal education "even though the jobs remain the same" (Hughes 1985, p. 10).

Contemporary concepts of the development to industrial or "post-industrial" societies (with a dominant tertiary sector) seem to have no difficulties to explain this parallel trend of rising educational attainments and requirements: As Daniel Bell (1973) puts it, development of modern societies gains continuity through the application of scientific advances to new forms of technology and the subsequent marginalization of unskilled labour.

Even if it is true that the average level of education required for salaried labour continues to rise, the proportion and distribution of higher and lower qualified jobs does not remain stable. The third industrial revolution, particularly the computerization and automatization of production as well as of the secondary and tertiary sectors

of the economy, seems to be followed by a "polarization" of the labour market. As recent studies on needed and required qualifications during the last two decades in European economies suggest, there are three interwoven trends:

- the rise of the average level of qualifications offered and required;
- the "dequalification" of many credentials, resulting from upgrading the required qualification and leading to "credential inflation" and to a certain dissociation of educational attainments and job expectations;
- the polarization of the labour force into a minor group of 10-20 percent highly qualified jobs (university graduation and additional specialization) and a majority of semi-skilled jobs, including those of initially high-ranking computer operators who found themselves degraded after automatic programming was introduced; thus the hierarchy of qualifications supplied by the education system tends to be disrupted (Kern/Schumann 1970; 1984; PAQ 1975-1983).

Another big question resulting from the educational expansion issue is if the more educated are the more productive members of the society (Little 1984a). The above cited World Bank studies on "returns to education" (Psacharopoulos et al. 1973 ff.) had concentrated on the relationship between investments in education and job earnings, a relationship proven as world-wide significant, with however remarkable differences. As soon as more job-oriented criteria are employed, this "clear" correlation becomes blurred.

Godfrey's (1977) examination of the relation -- in Kenya -- between formal educational qualifications and the performance of candidates in tests in a variety of occupational qualifications resulted only in a small significance of schooling for explaining test performance. Similar results can be obtained from the annual evaluations of West German uni-

versity examinations for medical subjects (IMPP 1977 ff.). Little's comparative study on the productivity (measured in terms of the supervisors' evaluation) of clerical workers, managers and other groups from safety guards to computer programmers in Ghana, Mexico and Sri Lanka found an average education-productivity coefficient of no more than 0.05 (Little 1984a, p. 93).

Although the measurements of all those studies can be doubted, their results are supported by a growing number of studies which suggest that education-productivity relations are not similarly positive in all corners of the world and under all circumstances. Lockheed et al. (1980), in a literature review for the World Bank, found that agricultural productivity is likely to be supported by education only under "modern" circumstances. Other reports emphasize that the characteristics of a particular job count for a higher proportion of productivity than the level of education required or offered (Hallak/Caillods 1981).

To resume: Although there is a world-wide development towards higher levels of education attained and required there is no simple linkage to economic growth and technological progress. Factors of devaluation, job competition, polarization, socio-cultural environment and job-specific criteria of productivity have to be taken into account. It might, however, be worth considering if the concentration on those elements of education which are components of job qualifications, could not be geared to a wider reflection on cognitive capacities.

An analysis of the socio-political dimension of education in contemporary society is by necessity less precise than on the economic level. The above mentioned tradition of inculcating loyalty continues insofar as any government supposes the education system to fit future citizens into the political system. Twenty years ago one could agree on

the assumption that more education creates more loyalty. In many industrial countries as well as in nearly all developing countries higher levels of education, particularly university education, were regarded as a privilege so that most students felt willing and obliged to be loyal citizens. As long as "élite education" worked on the lines of early industrial or colonial societies' stratification pattern, in capitalist and in the majority of developing countries up to the mid-sixties conservatism and level of education correlated significantly (Habermas et al. 1961; Hanf et al. 1975). From the late 1960s, however, things turned largely to the opposite: Growing numbers of students around the world disagreed with and protested against colonial and neo-colonial wars, the U.S. war against the Vietnamese people as well as Portuguese late colonialism in Africa. This involvement gained subsequently lower levels of the education system and continues to be virulent particularly in the international solidarity against the South African apartheid regime and its Western support.

It would, however, be an oversimplification to take this as evidence for an illuminating rôle of education, bearing the core elements of independent, rational decision-making and political interest and participation -- as the modernization studies of Inkeles et al. (1974 ff.) suggest, in harmonizing any kind of political effect of education with those terms. Any evaluation of the widespread students' unrest has to consider that firstly, in most countries of the world the working class, despite their deficiencies in formal education, participated at least as much in politics as the "intelligence" and secondly, that student unrest by and large went along with the opening of the universities to larger parts of the population and with the subsequent loss of privileges. Research on student unrest in India (Neelsen 1978), one of the first Third World countries to produce more univer-

sity graduates than immediately needed and to be faced with unemployment on higher education level, reveals tougher job competition as one of the major forces of growing political interest and activities among the students. Similarly, in the FRG, combined effects of reduced university graduates' privileges and the government's attempt to restrict the range of freedom for political engagement ("Berufsverbote") in the 1970's, contributed to the establishment of "alternative movements", including an influential new socialist-ecologist party with a largely "intellectual" recruitment pattern.

To sum up: Neither the traditional concept of inculcating loyalty by formal education nor the idea of political information and participation growing with educational attainment are sufficient for explaining the socio-political dimension of educational effects. As in the case of economic relations, social circumstances have to be taken into account.

1.3 Matching Economic and Socio-political Criteria of Education to the Context of Democratization

Generally, education is ambiguous with regard to economic and socio-political requirements as well as in its effects on both dimensions. In the early 1970s international educational planning was guided by the optimistic view that more education enhances better implementation of its economic and socio-political goals. Ph. Coombs and M. Ahmed, for example, designed their large-scale programme of universalizing basic education in the Tanzanian model (including literacy training and adult education) on both dimensions: first to "attack rural poverty", with the expected impact on preparing rural people by education to improve their production methods, to participate in the market and eventually to fit into future manufacture/industrial envi-

ronments; second to "new paths for learning", with the expected impact on growing political interest and popular participation. The first study was delivered to the World Bank, the second to Unicef (Coombs/Ahmed 1974; Coombs/Prosser/Ahmed 1973).

Without having particularly reflected on the interplay between those two sets of educational goals, the authors paved the way for recent findings on the nature of the "flexibility" which is supposed to be a key qualification required in contemporary society. This qualification goes far beyond purely economic requests. What is now called "extrafunctional qualifications" in modern sociology of labour, comprises a large set of attitudes and value orientations, including flexibility of problem solving, heuristic capacities, reversibility of inference-making, personal role-interpretation and a high level of responsibility concerning the whole production process (Kern/Schumann 1984; Haug 1985). This, however, does not mean that those undoubtedly valuable elements generally apply to qualifications demanded for modern industrial production. In analyzing the process of integrating low-schooled or even unschooled immigrant workers into large-scale industrial systems in Western Europe, Lenhardt (1980; 1984) found that "extrafunctional" qualifications required from high proportions of this labour force consist mainly in a "lack of resistance motivation" and a certain mode of "coping with apathy" that can be learnt with or without school.

On both economic and socio-political levels "positive" and "negative" elements of educational goals and qualifications can be identified. "Democratization of education" can be regarded as a necessary criterion for clearly discerning between them. For this purpose it seems essential to link the notion of "education for all", of the universal right to education which is codified in international documents as well as in most countries' legislations (Unesco 1985), to the demo-

cratization of economy and society as the prerequisites of democratic implementation of the educational process and use of the thus resulting qualifications.

The prophets of "deschooling society" concentrated on possible, and certainly often real, negative results of education such as obedience to hierarchical systems, fitting to bureaucracies or preferring competition to cooperation (Illich 1971). These arguments can counterpoise optimistic views on the effects of education. In one aspect, however, these views coincide with those of educational optimists (such as the modernization theorists): Goods or evils of contemporary society, aspects of economic and social equality or inequality, are attributed foremost to education. This way of thinking is certainly too limited. The dialectics of democratization of education were formulated most concisely by A. Gramsci (1971, p. 3 ff.) who noted that the "ability of governing" or of "controlling power" was of higher priority for education than making everybody a "skilled worker".

Relating democratization of education to the framework of democratization of society results in the task of an integrated view on educational goals and qualifications and of clearly formulating criteria for "more" or "less democratic" education. This can be elaborated with regard to the above mentioned examples. The economically important demand for flexible cognitive capacities has to be related to information about "polarizing effects" of modern technology on qualifications and labour force. Hence, in pursuing the goal of preparing the student for highly sophisticated work the situation of those who find themselves -- if at all -- employed in routine jobs of repetitive detail work has also to be anticipated. This necessitates discussing the socio-political dimension of education: Political interest and participation can no longer be considered positive effects of education as such; without

being based on ideas of further democratizing society -- as marked by Gramsci's notion of the ability of governing or controlling power -- the political effects of education can as easily result in complying with any political system as in resistance to it.

There are too many seemingly "neutral" goals of education. Besides flexibility and political interest very often are presented "mobility", "decision-making", "participation", "development of personal capacities", "contributing to and advancing progress in science and technology". It is particularly the idea of linear progress, inbuilt in many "neutral" views at education, that has to be related to the surroundings of educational systems. A quotation from India may illustrate the problem much better than further academic elaborating on the issue: V. S. Naipaul (1979, p. 127 ff.) criticized the attitude of many Indian academics graduated overseas who refuse to go back to their country because of their "overqualification": Naipaul reminds that Western academics are not too qualified for working in India but instead "not enough qualified".

2. Obstacles to the Promotion of Democratization of Education

If democratization of education aims at a strategy that considers the context of the education system as well as its internal functioning, a large number of obstacles emerge. They include political factors, which are the framework of any educational planning (2.1); global and semi-global economic problems, as conditioning the external efficiency of schooling (2.2); the spectrum of resource problems, from financial constraints to those of human resources and shortage of equipment and infrastructure, largely affecting the quality of education (2.3); the precarious relationship between the thus defined problems of internal and external efficiency of education (2.4); social and cultur-

al disparities (2.5); and finally the attitudes of all groups concerned, parents, teachers, students, administrators and so on, in their impact on functioning and content of education (2.6).

In order to identify what might be an obstacle to democratization of education, the Unesco device of "wider access -- increased opportunities for success -- lifelong education" (Unesco ED-85, p. 6) can serve as criterion. The problematizations in the first chapter of this paper, however, call for including the views from the surroundings of education and from qualitative aspects.

2.1 Political Factors: Policy Formulation and Implementation and the Rôle of Educational Planning

Largely influenced by Unesco's programmes, there seems to be broad consensus established on the principle of going beyond formal criteria (such as equal access to education) whenever it comes to implement the "right to education" which is nowadays included in most national codes of civil rights (Unesco 1985, p. 11 ff., p. 75 ff.).

The history of political systems has an enormous impact on what is considered "democratization" in a particular country. The Swedish/German commission on "democratization and participation in schools and universities", for example, identified two different models of pursuing civil rights in both countries concerned: While in Sweden there is overall consensus that it is the government's duty to secure equal opportunities for all citizens, and thus there are sufficient mechanisms institutionalized for conflict regulation, in the FRG democratic aspirations -- at least since the late 1960s -- are very often expressed by "social movements" conceiving themselves as opposed to the government (Wilhelmi 1974, p. 16 f.; Goldschmidt 1976; Goldschmidt/Husen 1977). This does, however, not really question the public consensus on

the existence of democratic political institutions. It is rather the result of typical difficulties of a young democracy, with necessary mistrust to top-down decision-making, and thus functioning in a different way than the continuously democratic tradition in Sweden. Similar differences were accentuated in interpreting the characteristics of the two German states (Fenner 1983). In the United States, the long-lasting tradition of conceiving democracy as freedom of the individual, only marginally constrained by governmental regulations, became questioned with the rise of ethnic minority movements in the late 1960s. Many of them criticized the "melting-pot-democracy" as a strategy of socially and culturally dominant groups to "mainstream" other groups, thus imposing an equity model that is likely to deprive minorities of their identity (Ramirez/Castaneda 1974).

In developing countries there are several models of democracy implemented by rewarding individual efforts, and emphasizing "meritocratic" motives; others rather stress the equalizing rôle of the government. Assessed by their "output" in democratic decision-making and popular participation, however, such ideological differences often seem to disappear or even to become inversed (Court/Kinyanjui 1980, p. 394 ff.). Hence, judgments on the more or less democratic character of the one or other political system in developing countries should in no case be based on ideological differences alone.

There are probably good reasons for underlining the rôle of mass movements in one context and that of governments in another political framework of democratization. And there might be similarly good reasons for not levelling off the various ideas on meritocratic and equity criteria (Jencks 1972, p. 67 f.; Mitter 1985, p. 32 f.).

One of the major problems in assessing political goals is their close relationship to the legitimation of the political system. Polit-

ical planning includes measures and aims that are likely to be implemented and also hopes that are likely to be ruined. Recent efforts of research on the implementation of educational decentralization (Cheema/Rondinelli 1983) cope with this issue in proposing a feedback model of adjusting goals of educational reforms to previous and probable results. This leaves, however, the eternal problem of educational planning for further consideration: How can the gap between unsatisfying aspects of given situations and the envisaged future be bridged without either cutting all reforms to existing constraints or neglecting the latter and contribute further to the stock of nice plans that never have a chance to be implemented?

2.2 Economic Problems: External Efficiency of Schooling and the "Global Economic Crisis"

One of the lead talks at the 1985 SIDE/CIES conference noted the beginning of a "realistic" era in education and development issues, after two decades of first too much optimism and then too much pessimism (Weiler 1985a). There are, however, still differing ideas of what "realism" under the auspices of economic crisis might bring about. Those who believe in world-wide positive effects of educational investments are "realistic" in arguing for optimizing the investment of available funds along the line of "rates of returns" (Psacharopoulos 1973 ff.). And those who are rather skeptical against "human capital" theorems present evidence of persisting economy-education frictions and plea for educational reforms that simultaneously take account of "surplus supply" mechanisms, screening by ability and social screening (Oxenham 1984).

It seems that, despite the global character of an economic crisis that constrained growth rates or led even to a certain setback, the ef-

fects of that crisis on education are not the same in industrialized and in developing countries. While the former continue to universalize secondary education and to promote higher or other tertiary education for all, the latter suffer even from pursuing the goal of universal primary education. The percentage of educational expenditure of the total budgets is one of the main factors illuminating the difference: While the industrialized countries spend an average of 9 percent on education, the figure for developing countries is -- with the exception of South Asia -- between 15 and 23 percent, with some of them devoting more than 30 percent of their budget to education (Mingat/Psacharopoulos 1985, p. 36). This issue coincides with similar differences in the employment situation: Although unemployment in industrialized countries has reached an average of 6 percent of the labour force, it is less burning than similar figures of "open unemployment" in developing regions: The latter refer normally to only the half of the labour force, with the other half seeking for jobs without registration or being seriously underemployed or living below poverty or subsistence level (ILO 1984, Vol. 1, p. 3 ff.).

Both problems are two sides of the same coin: Because of the underdevelopment of the sometimes even marginal "modern sector" of salaried employment in Third World countries, the revenue basis of the government is extremely small, and there are growing discrepancies between the demand for education and the exhausted funds for creating educational facilities as well as jobs in both the private and the public sector.

From this background, the debate between advocates of either human capital or screening concepts seems to be less meaningful in developing countries than it is in the industrialized world. The perspective of a global economic crisis does not help anymore when there is no

way out of the bad alternative of spending funds in education to the detriment of the economy or vice versa. It has to be doubted if the criteria used in the rate-of-returns approach as well as in screening concepts have really the same meaning in fully-fledged economies and in the Southern hemisphere, with the exception of several "advanced" countries.

It is foremost the structural difference between industrialized and developing economies that is, beyond the scope of a temporary crisis, an obstacle to democratization of education. Whereas due to some shortage of public funds the time schedule for satisfying demands for education might be prolonged in the industrialized world, the vicious circle of economic and educational underdevelopment might force many Third World countries to give up some of their equalizing projects and to leave the distribution of opportunities for access to and success in more than a very basic education as unevenly distributed as it is today.

2.3 Resource Problems

The previous section may be reason enough for constraining the considerations on the variety of resource problems on developing countries. It is worth noting that the efforts of most Third World countries towards providing as much education as possible for their people in the last two decades are unprecedented by the much slower development of educational systems in industrialized countries that normally took more time than a century. To quote some very extreme efforts: Several Nigerian federal states, competing with each other, spent up to the end of the 1960s over 40 percent of the budget on education, and Kenya's educational expenditure was until recently for many years about one third of the budget (Abernethy 1969; Court 1976; Unesco Statistical Yearbook 1984).

These investments led to growth rates of several hundred percent within two decades, particularly in secondary education, with the peak of 1500 percent growth of secondary school enrolments in Kenya from 1962 to 1983 (Schöffthaler 1985b, p. 22). The expansion nearly exhausted public resources in large numbers of developing countries. Hence, besides foreign aid local and private resources were more and more employed for financing education, from building classrooms to paying for equipment and even salaries of teachers, a strategy for which the Kenyan "Harambee" movement is the best known example.

As a consequence, the quality of education at all levels declined in the vast majority of Third World countries. It was particularly impossible to maintain the teacher-student ratios of the early 1960s. Classrooms of 50 to 80 pupils became common, and neither the existing teacher-training centres nor the funds available for paying teacher salaries allowed keeping pace with the enrolments. The ratios of qualified to unqualified teachers could in most cases not be ameliorated; the situation of Namibia where -- still under colonial rule -- this ratio declined from 2:1 to 2:3 between 1960 and 1980 follows an overall pattern (Schöffthaler 1982). Employing untrained and low-paid teachers and assigning even 18- to 20-year-old adolescents as teachers (during their military service) was widely used as a means of coping with shortage of both financial and human resources (Blakemore/Cooksey 1981, p. 220 ff.).

The supply of teaching/learning materials became a more and more serious problem. In the early 1960s, nearly all former colonies had been left without textbooks that fit into their national and regional context so that huge resources were needed for writing and printing textbooks. Because printing costs as well as the price of foreign textbooks rose, at local prices, much faster than any resources available,

foreign aid included, many classrooms are supplied with two or three textbooks only; in some cases, there is no teaching/learning material at all available (foreign aid 1970-1982: Hufner/Naumann 1985; Brazil: Armitage et al. 1985; El Salvador, Egypt, Botswana, Uganda: Heyneman/Loxley 1983; Kenya: Makau 1985).

As a consequence, despite official introduction of free schooling, at least on primary level, parents and local communities were asked to provide infrastructure of schools even beyond the efforts of building the classrooms. Particular problems are caused by the necessity of boarding in rural areas, often starting even on upper primary level: From building the suitable facilities at the school site to paying for food there are severe extra burdens imposed on rural schooling.

The consequences are usually large disparities of educational quality between rural and urban areas: While the latter, with a larger percentage of salaried population, could provide facilities more easily, the combined efforts of governments and local people could normally not prevent school quality in rural areas from declining over-proportionally. The effects are most clearly to be observed in science education, because of the higher unit costs of science textbooks and the need for science laboratories. In a large number of classrooms science is -- if at all -- taught without books and opportunities for experimenting; it is likely to be degraded to introducing the terminology which is used in examinations. A-level science courses become the privilege of a few better-off schools (Kulkarni 1985, for India; Makau 1985, for Kenya).

To sum up: Confronted with educational expansion at all levels, the resources of developing countries did not allow keeping educational standards. This lead to aggravating particularly the disparities between rural and urban areas.

2.4 Internal and External Efficiency of Education

Efficiency problems are traditionally defined as the domain of economics; without denying the efforts of education economics it is, however, necessary to identify certain limitations which call for a more interdisciplinary perspective.

Recent studies of the World Bank on the internal efficiency of schooling helped to overcome the pessimistic view that "the school does not matter". In the 1960s and early 1970s, hundreds of studies on the comparative data collected under the guidance of the "International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement" (IEA) reiterated the assumption that family and other home background factors count that much in explaining educational achievement that, from a statistical view, all that happens at school does affect the individual's educational career only marginally (Postlethwaite et al. 1980).

Contrary evidence was produced by Heyneman and Loxley (1983). Starting from particular resource problems of schools in developing countries such as the availability of textbooks, duplicating machines, libraries or remedial instruction and qualified teachers, they found that in the developing world school quality matters a lot, even more than the pupils' and students' family background.

For industrialized countries also recent evidence questions the traditional pessimism that seems largely to be fed by the hopes that were ruined during the reform era. M. Rutter and his team developed a very refined research strategy for assessing school quality: They compared 12 London secondary schools on the dimension of factors such as the degree of academic emphasis, the rôles and responsibilities of boys and girls and the day-to-day contacts of teachers and students in the classrooms. The cumulative effects of those factors, much more than any single factor, were found very important for explaining interindividual

as well as interschool differences of success in education, while factors such as buildings and financial resources -- traditional parameters of economic approaches -- were indeed found not very important (Rutter et al. 1979, p. 179 ff.).

This leads us to conclude that firstly, it seems necessary to differentiate between developing and industrialized countries when it comes to assess internal efficiency of education and secondly, it seems essential to go beyond economically quantifiable factors.

Generally, we find under the heading "external efficiency" the transition from school to work, with research focussing on private (income) as well as social rates (economic growth) of returns to investments in education. The two major assumptions of World Bank studies are

- a) lower levels of education are the most cost-effective, and
- b) the introduction of a prevocational bias ("diversification") of secondary education does not necessarily lead to better job opportunities nor is it economically more profitable than a general curriculum (Psacharopoulos 1985a, b).

The first argument concerning the efficiency of education levels has implications "especially in developing countries" in favour of a policy to transfer public funds from higher to lower levels of education (Psacharopoulos 1985a, p. 15 ff.). With regard to the data base, however, it is highly questionable if sound decisions can be derived from this argument and, which is equally important, if the concentration on funds meets at all the core of the problem of how to rise efficiency of education.

There are three crucial issues involved: Firstly, comparisons of return rates for primary education between industrialized and developing countries are not possible because, in the former, there is no un-

schooled control group available (Psacharopoulos 1981). Hence, with the advent of universal primary education, or with enrolments close to it, does the comparison of the most disadvantaged (the unschooled control groups) with the vast majority of the school population make any sense? In the author's point of view, the procedure will become nearly as meaningless as the outdated attempts of cross-cultural psychologists to compare "cognitive development" of Western urban and Third World rural children. Secondly, even in industrialized countries where fully-fledged economies and the availability of reliable data seem to make the calculating of returns possible, the often sudden changes of the rates shown in the statistics seem to reflect largely unknown factors: On higher education level, for example, the decline of private rates of returns in the United States between 1969 and 1976 (they dropped from 15.4 to 5.3 percent) contrasts with a doubling of the same rate in the FRG between 1974 and 1978, while in Great Britain that rate dropped from 27.0 to 9.6 percent within one year (1971 to 1972) (data from Psacharopoulos 1985a, p. 27). Finally, the ups and downs of return rates are even more marked in developing countries and in many cases the assumed general trend is not supported at all: While in Burkina Faso (Upper Volta) higher education led to highest social rates of return, in other countries the peak is at secondary level, and the data seem largely not to be very stable if diachronical calculations are made (Psacharopoulos 1985c, p. 24 f.).

Who should base decisions on that fundament? With regard to identifying obstacles for democratization of education on efficiency level, it seems reasonable not to concentrate on the general issue of allocating public funds to different levels of education but instead discussing the above mentioned issues of school quality and the overall problems of economic and social development.

Similar doubts can be expressed against the second argument concerning the "diversification" of secondary education. The World Bank seems to take the existence of prevocational subjects in upper primary and in secondary education as an obstacle to democratization, because it was a waste of money bitterly needed elsewhere. One of the core arguments is that graduates from such schools do not enter employment more readily and do not earn higher salaries than others. A more precise look at the evidence presented, however, reveals amazing details: Diversified schools impart higher cognitive skills to their graduates although they recruit more students from poorer origins than others (Psacharopoulos 1985d). Hence, under democratization aspects, the "waste of money" argument should be reversed: The small number rather than the existence of this type of schools is an obstacle to democratization (Dore/Oxenham 1984, p. 4 ff.). This can be further corroborated by the results of SIDA tracer studies of participants in industrial education at Kenyan secondary schools (Lauglo 1985; Naerman 1985). Similarly, the evaluation of the efficiency of the new comprehensive schools in the FRG revealed that this type of schooling is slightly more expensive because it is new and has to spend a lot of money in experimenting, but that it provides much better opportunities for the socially disadvantaged than traditional tripartite education (Fend et al. 1982).

Internal and external efficiency problems taken together, the use of criteria and arguments which are not economical in the strict sense seems prerequisite for identifying obstacles to democratization of education. The most important internal and external efficiency problem of education seems to be the "diploma disease" (Dore 1976): Formal education, which is highly determined by its functions of distributing occupational status and "selecting", in all countries, suffers from being

designed to making differences between achievers and non-achievers, starting from primary level. This causes different kinds of a world-wide "disease": Preference of factual knowledge (closely related to the type of examination questions) to problem solving; "play safe", that means avoiding any criticism and conflict which could reduce the individual image that tends to be shaped by social desirability rather than by development of the personality; competition suffocates cooperation; the choice of subjects is more likely guided by anticipated formal success than by interests; extrinsic motivation prevails over intrinsic motives; credentials become more important than acquired qualifications (Dore 1976; Collins 1979; Little 1982; Dore/Oxenham 1984).

This disease, observed across different education systems, constrains all pedagogical goals of developing personalities and intellectual capacities. And it counts for the largest proportion of school motivation, thus turning the three levels of formal education into filters of selection rather than allowing an orientation to various kinds of employment (Little 1984b). From this view also the World Bank's perspective on external efficiency of primary education has to be re-thought. In fact, private and public investments in primary education are geared to the educational career of those who are selected for higher education levels. Hence, education from its very beginnings has been called "academically biased" because of not providing appropriate education for those who do not reach the final stage of the educational pyramid. Based on evidence that the vast majority of African children drop out of primary school without sitting the exams, and presenting low pass rates of the remaining minority, Blakemore and Cooksey (1981, p. 64) suggest a "high inefficiency of primary education in Africa". A world-wide survey on primary and secondary school drop-outs reveals that in developing countries four out of five pupils enrolled at the age of

school entry drop out before sitting the final exams; and even on secondary level, one out of three "survivors" leaves school without any certificate. The number is further to be reduced by cut-off marks and pass rates. This picture gets even more puzzled if repetition rates are taken into account: The same survey found the school population in developing countries spending nearly two times as many years at primary school as necessary (with an average ratio of 1.1 or 1.2 to 1 in industrialized countries) (Unesco 1970, Appendix E).

In industrialized countries, the drop-out problem seems to have shifted to secondary and higher education. Clark's classical study on higher education in the United States concludes that the main function of institutional diversity of tertiary education was not selecting the ablest according to various occupational fields but "cooling out" aspirations for continuing studies of those who drop out of the process of academic selection (Clarke 1960).

To resume: The most important constraint to efficiency of formal education is a system "offering for observation only a population of survivors" (Bourdieu/Passeron 1977, p. 101).

2.5 Social and Cultural Disparities

Over decades social research has revealed that "the effect of the educational system on individual upwards mobility is marginal compared to the factors determining social status as they are given with birth in a particular family and social context" (Müller 1974, p. 237). The problem consists of three main aspects:

- a) the nature of the factors causing differences in educational opportunities;
- b) the regional distribution of those disparities;
- c) the extent to which inequality of opportunities has changed over time.

ad a): Social class is most prominent among the factors to which inequality of educational opportunities was attributed, measured by income, social status or occupational group. Other factors traditionally researched include family educational background or membership in the "intelligentsia" or "culture of intellectuals" and race or ethnic and religious group. More recently gender inequality was given particular attention.

The empirical data are depressing, no matter which measures and techniques are employed. A few data to highlight the issue: Jencks (1972, p. 16 ff.) reports that as far as access to school is concerned there is no inequality in the United States for the age group between 6 and 16; inequalities are to be found on preschool level (82 percent of white vs. 70 percent of black children enrolled), and particularly severe in final high school classes and at college level: In the mid-sixties, 34 percent of all blacks left high school without graduating, compared to only 16 percent of all whites; similar differences occur between whites from working-class compared to those of middle-class origins. In the FRG, in 1980, the working class counted for over 50 percent, officials and self-employed for 20 percent of the employed male population, whereas the proportions among 13- to 14-year-old Gymnasium (academic secondary school) population were 15 to 36 percent (Max Planck Institute 1983, p. 215). Similar proportions were reported from Australia, where in 1977 the higher status/lower status ratio in the terminal high school classes (43 to 28 percent) was inverse to that in the society's stratification (Connell et al. 1982, p. 17 f.).

Ethnic factors and social class seem to have cumulative effects: While fathers of both black and Hispanic students are about equally represented in white- and blue-collar jobs, the latter graduate lower than blacks and whites from high school (62 vs. 75 vs. 85 percent)

(Havighurst/Levine 1979, p. 428). All data available show lower proportions of girls compared to boys, the higher the level of educational attainment (Stockard et al. 1980). And regional factors play not only an important role in developing countries: In the United States, students from lower strata are overrepresented in rural and low quality high schools; and even if they have the same IQ level, the chance of entering college is much higher for upper-middle-class- than for working-class-students (Havighurst/Levine 1979, p. 135 f.).

All those factors cumulate in various aspects, and their effects seem to be strengthened by differences in public expenditures: "the richest fifth of all families have their children in schools that spend about 20 percent more than the schools serving the poorest fifth", and taking in account the longer period of schooling for the former, Jencks (1972, p. 27) estimates "that America spends about twice as much on the children of the rich as on the children of the poor".

ad b): The United States data on inequalities, however, represent less disparities than in the majority of other countries. In Boudon's (1974, p. 45) comparative listing of Western industrialized countries, only Norway and Sweden are similar to the United States whereas all other countries show remarkably higher inequalities of educational opportunities (data of mid-sixties). The data for socialist countries of Eastern Europe suggest a higher proportion of secondary school and university students from working-class origin than in Western Europe, however still underrepresented compared to the proportion of working class in these societies. Students from "intelligentsia" families, on the other hand, were overrepresented at the universities with a 2.5 or 3.5 to 1 ratio (Boudon 1974, p. 49). The persistence of this problem is monitored for Hungary (Ferge et al., 1980; Ha'ber 1981).

Data on developing countries are less easily available, and dis-

parities are more difficult to estimate. There is, however, sufficient evidence of problems similar to class and ethnic inequalities in industrialized countries, yet largely dominated by the problem of regional disparities. Given the same residential area, particularly success in primary school and passing to secondary level seems to be influenced by social class. Cooksey (1978, p. 226) presents for Yaounde pass rates from zero to 34 percent according to the stratum from unskilled manual worker to elite groups. Ethnic or religious factors, on the contrary, seem to have only low independent influence on educational opportunities; they are largely superseded by urban/rural and other regional disparities -- starting from availability of schools to quality of education and, consequently, rates of success. Cooksey's Cameroun data, for example, indicate a 50 percent difference between urban and rural pass marks (Blakemore/Cooksey 1981, p. 73).

The three volumes of Unesco's International Institute for Educational Planning on regional disparities (Carron/Ta Ngoc Châu 1980a, b; 1981) present ample evidence of huge school attendance disparities in developing countries. The regional distribution of economically and socially developed areas being crucial to this issue, the factor of regional disparities is much more important in developing than in industrialized countries. Nevertheless, there are even within an industrialized environment cumulative effects of rural origin and social disadvantages, as the case study on Hungary (Ferge et al. 1980) reveals.

ad c): The evidence on changes over time allows to speak of only limited progress towards more equality of opportunities in the last two decades. Most of the structural problems, inherited from earlier times, remained. To start with developing countries: "Education has indeed developed in regions where the school system was inadequate, but its growth has hardly slowed down in those regions which were already priv-

ileged. Moreover ... with a view to attaining universal primary education, the divergences between backward and advanced regions are beginning to shift to the higher levels of the education system (Carron/Ta Ngoc Châu 1980b, p. 17). Particularly detailed evidence on this process of upwards shifting of regional disparities is presented in Bray's (1984) case study on Papua New Guinea.

In industrialized countries, with the view at efforts towards universal secondary education, the problem can be studied best at university level. Jencks (1972, p. 21) presents data on the increasing equalization of the number of years spent at school, for the age cohorts from 1895 to 1944 in the United States, between men and women, whites and blacks. Nevertheless, "a youngster whose father earns more than \$10,000 and has attended college is about six times more likely to obtain higher education himself than a youngster whose father earns less than \$5,000 and has no high school diploma," concludes Boudon (1974, p. 47) in adding that those combined class/education differences in Western European countries are even higher. Also the gender differences persist: Havighurst and Levine (1979, p. 380) present growth rates of B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. graduations at U.S. universities from 1869 to 1974. The overall growth is much more significant than the reduction of male dominance, although women caught up within the last two decades, thus reducing the disadvantage from 1:2 to 2:3 at B.A. and M.A. level, and from 1:8 to 1:4 on Ph.D. level.

Generally, most processes of ameliorating the situation of disadvantaged groups are due to educational expansion, whereas the reduction of disparities in several cases can be explained more easily as a ceiling effect than as a major structural change (particularly detailed data on gender and social class of university students in the FRG from 1952 to 1980 are presented by the Max Planck Institute 1983, p. 282 f.).

For good reasons processes of the "reproduction of cultural capital" are made responsible for low rates of progress towards equalizing the structure of educational opportunities. Boudon (1974, p. 50) presents the social composition of prestigious grammar schools in England since 1910: Although their growth rate was -- due to the ceiling effect -- the slowest, the highest status groups progressed from 34 to more than 50 percent, with a "progress" from 1 to 7 percent children from working classes only sent to those schools, thus not changing very much the inequality structure. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977, p. 71 ff.) explain how upper- and middle-class students, although in the average less successful at the entrance examinations than the (highly pre-selected) working-class colleagues, use their élite communication skills, combined with preference to language bound and/or prestige-related subjects such as arts, law or medicine, to do better than the latter group. They use their "cultural capital" inherited to them (similar: Bowles/Gintis 1976).

2.6 Attitudes

The full meaning of positive and negative attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes for democratization of education has yet to be revealed. Too often the debate concentrated on the quantifiable aspect of the problem: the parents' decisions to send their children to school. This aspect has not to be underestimated. It seems, however, necessary to elaborate on its framework.

The educational career of every individual is, from a psychological point of view, largely determined from its very beginnings by the way achievement motivation is shaped. Psychologists have designed hundreds of tests for tracing back the different histories of those individuals who are, despite particular failures, looking forward to suc-

cess, and others who are, despite particular success, predominantly anxious of not meeting the expectations of their environment. Heckhausen (1977) found that early childhood experience with tasks likely constitutes a lifelong pattern of achievement motivation: fear of failure for those who lack confirmation and self-esteem, and hope of success for those who grow up in a stimulating and encouraging environment. These two types of motivation were found significantly correlated with social class and gender: Middle-class children and boys were more often motivated by hope for success than working-class children and girls whose anxiety level was remarkably high (similar reports: Backman/Secord 1968).

This early differentiation of motivational streams typically goes along with contrasting attitudes towards education and school, leading to more complex habits of intellectual flexibility and self-esteem vs. conformity (Kohn/Schooler 1973; Havighurst/Levine 1979, p. 118 ff.). Unfortunately, the children who are more inclined towards conformity, with lower-class origin, are likely to meet an environment at school that is middle-class biased, thus forcing them to adapt to a different milieu. This starts with the language code used by textbooks and teachers and goes to the "invisible pedagogy" that transmits the hidden codes of middle-class attitudes toward individuality and success (Bernstein 1975). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), in their analysis of the reproduction of "cultural capital" name this type of always favouring the better-off learners, through the higher levels of education, "symbolic violence": "The avoidance of the everyday expression and the search for the rare turn of phrase which characterize the relation to language that professional practitioners of writing and difference through writing maintain with language, are only the extreme form of the literary disposition towards language which is proper to the privileged classes, who

are inclined to make the choice of language and the manner of its use a means of excluding the vulgar and thereby affirming their distinction." (p. 117 f.)

Hence, it should be admitted, parents' decisions on sending children to schools are only one aspect of the impact attitudes towards schooling have on educational careers. For girls, sex-typing of jobs on the labour market has a marked additional influence. The labour market, in industrial as well as in developing countries, is largely segregated along gender differences, and this does affect education. As a team of Australian educationists noted, "the cult of football" or the design of "domestic science", among other masculinizing and feminizing practices at schools and colleges, prepare girls and boys to fit into a world of work which is not really open for all, without regard to gender. Jobs in the management remained largely closed to women, and others in computing or banking "have grown new forms of sexual division, creating dead-end jobs for women such as key-punch operating" (Connell et al. 1982, p. 175 ff.).

An ILO study on the segregation of labour markets in Cyprus, Ghana, India, Mauritius, Nigeria and Sri Lanka revealed the general attitude of employers "that women are more costly and less productive than men. This perception is often directly related to women's rôle in childbearing and rearing, and is reinforced by legislation which puts the costs of maternity leave, nursing breaks or crèches directly to the employer" (Anker/Hein 1985, p. 87; evidence from the African context: Hagan 1984). This general attitude, however, does not apply to all sorts of jobs: There are definite ideas of employers "that certain jobs are more suitable for men, and others (a minority) more suitable for women". Some of these ideas are fed by cultural restrictions on women. They and not the men are the victims of an employer's decision not to accept the "unhealthy

atmosphere" of mixed workshops; in most economic systems it is "normal" to assign such posts to women which are at lower levels of the organizational hierarchy (Anker/Hein 1985, p. 75 ff.).

As a feminist author puts it: "Males suffer especially in the early years of schools, and females in the later years" -- when it comes to deciding on their occupational career (Stockard 1980, p. 185).

The conclusion of Blakemore and Cooksey (1981, p. 186) on the impact of literacy in Africa and India can be extended to higher education in the industrialized world as well: "Literacy facilitates social changes which are occurring anyway but by itself seems unlikely to change ideas, social norms or values" -- this statement being a firm answer to high-flying ideas of the modernization-by-education concept of Inkeles et al. (1974 ff.).

To resume: Particularly class and gender differences are stabilized by attitudes and values. They become manifest within the education system, but they are constituted in its social and cultural context.

3. Measures for Promoting Further Democratization of Education, Regarding the Obstacles and the Economic and Social Rôle of Education

Measures for promoting democratization are, in the international context, usually classified along the lines of differentiating between the addressees: legal steps, political strategies, educational planning, curriculum reform and so on (Unesco-ED 85). Within the context of this paper, however, it seems appropriate to discuss such measures according to the obstacles identified in the previous section and taking into account the introductory remarks on the rôle of education. This allows, in the author's point of view, better coping with the different social, political and economic circumstances involved and to control recommendations by theoretical and empirical arguments reviewed

before. Nevertheless, the nature of the measures proposed has to be characterized clearly.

3.1 Equalizing Legislation Supporting Active Participation

In dealing with different political contexts of democratization of education it is essential to recall the process character of the perspective at risk. Carnoy's well-known book on "education as cultural imperialism" pleads for "a society in continuous liberation" which does not rely on "colonizing" minds and personalities by adapting them to both hierarchical structures of the society and the educational pyramid (Carnoy 1974, p. 367 f.). Jencks (1972, p. 265) concludes his survey on inequality in proposing "to establish political control over the economic institutions that shape our society. This is what other countries usually call socialism." There is wide consensus on the limited scope of democratization as long as it is constrained to education alone. Having parallelized inequality of educational and social opportunities Boudon (1974, p. 196) emphasizes that schools should be changed; but not without expressing that the "two malfunctions" hardly can be effectively cured by educational reforms. For the time being, it seems impossible to decide in advance if "state-controlled" (GDR 1984, p. 4) or only "supervised" (Connell et al., p. 194 ff.) organization of an integrated democratization approach should be preferred. This has to be discussed in detail with regard to the particular political histories involved and the tasks to be done.

On the level of legislation, this problem becomes crucial. There are many constitutions which include substantial guarantees of "equal rights to education for all citizens" (GDR 1984, p. 3) whereas others concentrate on "equal protection" norms. As Weiler (1985b) elaborated, the latter notion can include very substantial codes on equity or equal

opportunity in education, as in the U.S. constitution, but can also be more formal, as in West-Germany. In the FRG constitution the two fundamental norms of "the state's supervisory responsibility for the entire educational system" and of the "free development of personality", together with the guaranteed "right of parents to be primarily responsible for the care and upbringing of children" and the proscription of prejudice on the grounds of sex, parentage, race, language, origin, faith or political opinion are the legal cornerstones (Articles 2, 3, 6 and 7 of the constitution) which pave the way to legal steps for implementing equality of opportunities. Obviously this formal bias leads to difficulties when it comes to conflicts over educational reforms. In the FRG, for example, several attempts of the one or other federal state to introduce compulsory comprehensive education were found unconstitutional because of depriving parents and children from their right of choice (Becker 1980; Weiler 1985b, p. 79). It seems, however, both premature and unsatisfactory to recommend unified substantial rights to education for all legal systems: On the one hand, there are the different political histories that lead to state-control in one case, whereas reducing of state power to supervision in another case is more likely to enhance democratization (as discussed with the models of Sweden and the FRG in paragraph 2.1 above). On the other hand, basic laws are the framework for more detailed legislation and political implementation. It is generally the legitimacy of the political system which has to be proved and improved by more "democratic" laws and their execution. Particular measures such as "positive discrimination" in favour of disadvantaged groups (Lodge/Blackstone 1982, p. 113 ff.) or quota systems at the entry to higher educational levels, for coping with regional disparities (Rabaweera et al. 1985, p. 136 f.), will be discussed later in the disparities context.

The issue of participation of both educators and educated in decision-making on education highlights particular limitations of legal strategies. As Court and Kinyanjui (1980, p. 394 ff.) put it, the outcomes of the Kenyan meritocratic policy seem closer to the idea of the Tanzanian self-reliance model than to its own intentions, and vice versa. Hence, the implementation of a participation strategy can be made impossible where too many regulations are employed, and it can ironically be fostered where the legal system does not provide enough tools for claiming it. Certainly, such paradoxa are of a very limited explanatory value. But, as the comparative study on "academic power" in seven industrialized capitalist countries suggests, the informal ways of decision-making are equally important as the legal precautions (Van de Graaff 1978). A very fast transition from élite to mass higher education might necessitate large bureaucracies, thus making participation more and more difficult and being counterproductive to democratization (Goldschmidt 1978). In a similar vein, Carrier (1979) warned that forced transformation of universities into institutions providing education for all could affect their functioning.

The implications for educational planning convey some ambiguities: If planning for democratized education relies mainly on legislation and administrative measures of implementing the goals, it seems likely to cause counterproductive effects. Without strong political input, however, democratization might be confined to a few areas and sectors, thus aggravating the problem of disparities. Solutions could be found in combining step-by-step planning and a timetable for policy implementation. As Berstecher (1985, p. 15) resumes the experience of educational development in rural areas, some schools with already favourable conditions for plan implementation should be "turned into resource centres which supervise, train and improve the surrounding satellite schools". Such

a strategy of planning could be generalized to the objectives of democratization. Efforts of providing full educational facilities for certain areas or groups do not have to be levelled off, following a narrow understanding of democratization. They could rather be stabilized in relating them to lifelong learning opportunities for the so far disadvantaged. This was the intention of the Swedish model and similar module systems for the higher levels of education that allows everybody, according to personal interests and preferences, to acquire "credentials" at any time (Lourié 1985). This strategy should be adapted to teacher training for coping with widened diversities between elder and younger, well and poorly trained staff (which resulted from educational expansion in many countries). Resource problems and persistence of disparities certainly have to be taken into account. The measures to deal with these structural issues will be discussed in the following sections.

It is now possible to fix a first conclusion: Along the lines of Court's and Kinyanjui's (1985, p. 24) dialectical view at educational reforms that "seem to demand localization as an objective and centralization as a mechanism" the relationship between politics and planning could be designed. While policy, be it with state-control or supervision, sets the goals for democratization according to the historical, economic and social circumstances, educational planning facilitates implementation by strengthening the links between the already more democratized and the less developed sectors of the education system. If this sharing of tasks is to enhance progress towards democratization, the participation of both, educators and educated is essential; where the legislation leaves room for Yes and No, and where learning opportunities are made available beyond school age, the inevitable ambiguities of goals and implementation of the decentralization process can be tolerated without ruining the motivation of those participating in it.

3.2 Towards a New Economic Order: Better Adapting Schools to Their Surroundings

The purely economic view at the transition from education to work, with its bias to money invested and earned, hardly enhances democratization. Yet the policy recommendations derived from some World Bank staff members' calculations on rates of returns claim to be guided by criteria of "more equally distributing education" opportunities (Psacharopoulos 1985b, d). Low or declining rates of returns to higher levels of education reflect difficulties of the graduates to get salaried jobs. Does this provide enough reasons for a policy of transferring funds to basic education?

There is ample evidence of an élitist function of higher education in both industrialized and developing countries (Luithui 1979; Passeron 1979). There is, however, also evidence of the élite's interest in keeping the universities' doors closed to the masses. The actual conflict between the British government and the University Grants Committee (UGC) highlights the issue: While the government's "Green Paper" (1985) takes the calculated private and social rates of returns as an argument for freezing transition rates from lower to higher education levels, and to cut funds according to the declining birth rate, the UGC (1984) pleads for further developing the democratic principle of opening the universities along the lines of the Robbins report (1966). The UGC forecasts changing attitudes of employers towards preferring broadly educated graduates who are able to cope with regularly acquiring new skills. This outlook is corroborated by actual analyses of the automatization of work, suggesting that there will be growing opportunities of breaking with the new technologies' effects of dequalification and polarization of the labour force. If the supply of graduates will be less hierarchically structured than it is today, there will also be an

opportunity of increasing the number of qualified workers who are both able and asked to use technology for covering routine and detail work and to concentrate themselves on supervising the production process (PAQ 1986). Hence, for industrialized countries, the alternative of either cutting funds or having wasted investments in higher education seems to be too narrow-minded and largely related to élitist thinking. The chance of having, at the same time, lower birth rates and new demands for broadly qualified manpower allows to make "courses of higher education available for all those who are able to benefit from them and who wish to do so" (UGC 1984, p. 2).

The situation of developing countries is depressing enough to consider top-down transfers of funds. It is, however, worth noting that the employment situation is still favourable to the better trained (Hughes 1985), and that closing the doors to higher levels of education would affect the most important source of general school motivation (Little 1984b). This motivation is already endangered by the decline of transition rates from primary to secondary and to higher education following the expansion of enrollments. Furthermore, the élite character of higher education in developing countries, being more marked than in industrialized countries (Luithui 1979), is likely to be strengthened if the World Bank's policy recommendations are to be implemented. The establishment of scholarships for a larger number of students on achievement criteria, as proposed by Psacharopoulos, can hardly counteract such a development. In order to prevent Third World universities from further élitization, scholarships have to be awarded with a strong bias to social criteria (Makau 1985), be the funds for higher education cut or not.

The problem is more deeply rooted. M'Bow (1985) elaborated the essentials of higher education in developing countries in pleading for better using the universities as workshops for creating alternative and "home-

grown" concepts of development. As Naipaul (1979) and several IDRC authors (King 1985) suggest, the efficiency issue calls for carefully liberating Third World universities from the blueprint of Western higher education. "Appropriate" science has to be re-thought by scientists within the countries concerned. If teaching and learning were better linked to the particular needs of developing countries, two major obstacles for democratization could be attacked: the brain drain and the university graduates' inclination to administrative posts. There are enough subjects specific to developing countries such as the need for combined theoretical and practical qualifications, or research themes that hardly can be pursued elsewhere. This does not at all lead to proposing a quality barrier between scientific communities in industrialized and developing countries. On the contrary, such a barrier exists as long as the blueprint is working; to overcome defavourisation, a framework of deconcentrated research and development has to be created that supports the work of those who argue for transferring e.g. institutes for research on solar energy, tropical diseases or appropriate technology into the environments where their work is needed. This was one of the major recommendations of the conference on "research-oriented teaching and learning at African universities" held September 1985 at Nairobi (DSE/GTZ 1986).

A related strategy of better fitting education to its surroundings was developed in several African projects on "indigenous technology". Cole and Hamilton (1978; 1979) introduced knowledge on local technologies into science teaching, starting with primary level. They had some success in motivating local resource persons to co-operate with traditionally trained teachers, and some village schools could be used within and after hours as village information centres open for all. Despite their promising outlook, with regard to external efficiency, most of those projects suffer from the lack of political support from governments and international agencies

(Schöfthaler 1984a).

This recalls the major obstacle identified in the above 2.2 section: the structural difference between industrialized and developing economies. The proposed strategy of better adapting formal education to its surroundings can hardly be implemented without altering the terms of trade between exporters of costly technology and those of low-price raw materials. The tasks of establishing a "new economic order" is urgent: Opening the markets of industrialized countries for manufactured goods from Third World countries would have an immediate effect on employment in the Southern hemisphere; it should be regarded equally important as measures for stabilizing and raising prices of raw materials (Brandt Commission 1980).

There are ideas enough of how to improve the external efficiency of education in developing countries; their implementation depends, however, on progress towards balanced economic relationships between industrialized and developing countries. The limited efforts of ILO's activities towards supporting informal economic sectors in Third World countries support this argument.

3.3 Cumulating the Effects of Small Steps to Improving School Quality

A review of educational innovations to improve quality of education without demanding additional resources (Stromquist 1982) counts 19 possible innovations. All these proposals call for decision-making of educational planners.

A very prominent task is reducing the wastage generated by dropout and repetition. There are, for example, reports on remarkable success in reducing the 50 percent repetition rates in first grade of Latin American schools, after parents were trained to improve the readiness of their children to enter primary school (Filp et al. 1981). The availability of textbooks being one of the most important factors of school quality

(Heyneman/Loxley 1983), and the funds being too limited for providing books for all children, social criteria for the distribution of learning materials should be applied (Stromquist 1982, p. 87). Particularly important seems to be replacing high-cost textbooks by low-cost materials and locally made cheaper equipment (Makau 1985).

Teacher remuneration is a hot issue. Mingat and Psacharopoulos (1985) propose lowering the teacher salaries in those countries where they are above the average of developing countries, particularly in several African regions. It has, however, to be doubted if such a strategy could be implemented without changing the income level of all academically trained in those countries -- a measure highly dependent on previous success of adapting higher education to the needs of developing countries, as discussed above. For the time being, integrating teaching capacities from the community, or proposals for using the schools' land and equipment to produce food and goods (for reducing recurrent costs) seem to be transitional measures for coping with shortage of funds. It has to be noted that the vast majority of developing countries have already tapped on local resources in various forms (classrooms to be built by parents, locally supplied equipment, self-help schools in rural areas, locally recruited staff members), so that in some areas those resources are close to be exhausted.

Particular attention should be paid to the use of old and new media. Most proposals argue in favour of radio education because of good coverage of remote areas and reasonable costs and energy consumption. The experience in the field of non-formal education (Naumann 1981) seems to be encouraging. In Kenya, a combined programme of radio education and self-instruction materials, with additional monitors as resource persons, was very successful with training large numbers of primary and junior secondary teachers within a few years only. Most of its 12,000 enrollers passed the

teachers exams (Eilers et al. 1980). In developing further correspondence courses and other distance education concepts much could be done in providing secondary and higher education for more people. The Swedish module concept provides second, third and more chances of lifelong learning; therefore it appears to be the most suitable to be used in other countries, even in a form relying more on distance education. From a democratization point of view there arise, however, serious problems if those programmes are (as in most of the cases mentioned) unevenly distributed: new inequalities between areas where people have access to schools, and those where only "ersatz" is available, are likely to cause new rural/urban disparities. The massive introduction of new concepts calls for a deliberate policy of school mapping and regulating access to schools, e.g. based on random and chance rather than along the lines of existant disparities. In no case self-learners should be completely left self-supporting (Stromquist 1982, p. 75), this being a serious task for transferring funds.

For better using resources and improving quality of education close regional cooperation seems to be prerequisite. The efforts of the Science Programme for Africa (SEPA) and the African Social Studies Programme (ASSP), two bodies providing regionally adapted textbooks and teacher-training materials as well as low-cost equipment and country-specific learning material could be taken as example.

Any of the measures to be taken for better using available resources may be very limited on its own. There are, however, good reasons to expect cumulative positive effects. As highlighted with regard to the use of media and the distribution of textbooks, the strict application of social and other equalizing criteria is, however, essential for fitting those measures to a democratization strategy.

3.4 Combating the "Diploma Disease"

The most radical treatment of the "diploma disease" is "credential abolitionism" (Collins 1979, p. 197 ff.). If it were true that the differentiation of credentials in the education system causes status differentiation in society, then indeed the proposed sinecure of "eliminating educational requirements for jobs" would help producing greater income equality in a "free labour market" as Collins (1979, p. 200) suggests. It is, however, more likely that the status differentiation in society exerts on selection in the education system than the other way round. This is why Collins (1979, p. 202 f.) pleads for a "second revolution" in both capitalist and socialist societies for abolishing occupational inequality. On the level of income equalization, indeed much has been done in socialist countries with, however, not yet achieving the goal of integrating manual and intellectual work. "Capitalist and socialist societies alike differentiate work rôles into these which require higher and lower levels of specialisation." (Little 1984b, p. 198)

Dore (1976) proposed a more down-to-earth sinecure policy: Careers should be started earlier, around the ages 15-17. As much of the selection as possible should be done in work organizations, and tertiary education should be transformed into in-career training. Such a policy certainly would ease the burden of selection carried at school, but at a huge price: Higher education, transformed into immediate on-the-job training, would lose much of its general orientation towards fostering development of personalities, with the selection problem remaining as long as occupational specialization exists. And schools would still have mechanisms for selection, however, well disguised and very difficult to control (because widely relying on "invisible pedagogy", as Bernstein, 1975, puts it, and in any case reproducing "cultural capital", as elaborated by Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). "The educational system gets its social relevance

and expansional possibilities from its selective function", concludes Teichler (1976, p. 20) from his analysis of education in Japan, one of the systems most obviously suffering from the diploma disease.

Another idea formulated by Dore (1976) seems to be more realistic: separating selection from schooling by developing tests "which cannot be (or cannot much be) crammed for". Where to find the panacea? Little (1984b, p. 203 ff.) clearly analyses the pros and cons of aptitude tests and (restricted) lotteries. The former, widely used as higher education entrance tests, bring about a system of commercial cramming beyond the control of public education, with the notorious "exams preparation centres" mushrooming, from Latin America to South Asia. Pure lotteries are very unlikely to be accepted by anybody concerned -- Little (1984b, p. 217 f.) quotes from investigations done in Ghana, revealing that 91 percent of the parents were opposed to such an "unfair" selection. Remain "restricted" lotteries, i.e. lotteries among pre-selected groups of higher achievers or -- as applied to West-German university entrance tests for medicine -- weighed mixing of chance and score criteria, with pre-fixed better chances for better scorers (IMPP 1977 ff.). This method admittedly did not help reduce cramming at all nor did it contribute to transforming external into internal motivation. There is, however, an impact on increased equity of resource distribution within the education system (Little 1984b, p. 219) so that restricted lotteries should be considered measures enhancing democratization of education.

Much has been experimented with reforming curricula and teaching/learning methods. In industrialized countries a first stage of curriculum reform aimed at adapting subject-specific syllabi to modern times. It was followed, in the early 1970s, by identifying cross-disciplinary objectives for schooling such as problem solving, making logical inferences, testing hypotheses and developing reversibility of thinking (among other rationales

which are more related to the development of communication skills). The introduction of "new mathematics" was one of the outstanding results, with however some disappointing imperfections of implementing the plans during the setback of educational reform strategies (Damerow 1977).

There is broad consensus that particularly examinations were not affected enough by curriculum reform, with the effect that many of the new elements (not only of new mathematics) hardly left the curriculum development centres. The effects of examinations on learning motivation were widely underestimated. Lewin (1984) and Little (1984b) propose a complete renewal of examinations in developing countries where the second phase of curriculum reform was even less implemented than in industrialized countries. In most Third World countries curricula and examinations still can be characterized as subject- rather than problem-centred, usually very standardized, oriented towards factual knowledge rather than to comprehension and application (Blakemore/Cooksey 1981, p. 142 ff.; Lewin 1984, p. 129 ff.). Without an examination reform the new curricula, textbooks and teaching methods are likely to fail. If learning shall be something different from "chew, pour, pass, forget", the exams have to pose problems and items that "require more than a simple chewing" and "must be swallowed and digested into a more complex system of knowledge" (Little 1984b, p. 228). Hence, the democratic goals of an education that helps developing all capacities of the personality should not only be included in textbooks and manuals for teacher training; if they are to be implemented, they must be part of problems to be solved in sitting examinations.

This holds, too, for "diversified curricula". Some disappointment after a "prevocational bias" was introduced in formal education could have been avoided by reflecting on the impact exams have on motivation. Lauglo (1985) reports of many Kenyan students regarding industrial education as either unnecessary or as a mechanism preventing them from an academic

career. Vocational training at school should, as developed in concepts of "polytechnical education", not be stigmatized but instead be part of the compulsory programme (GDR 1984).

Particular kinds of the "diploma disease" appear in those educational systems which are biased to early selection. In the tripartite education system of West-Germany, parents have to decide about sending their children to lower, middle or higher levels of secondary schools after four years of primary education only. This imposes, on children of 6 to 10 years, cramming for later occupational opportunities. It is certainly not a very democratic notion of "freedom" if "parents' free choice of education for their children" implies distribution of social status among children with 10 years of age. From a democratization point of view, the abolition of the lower type of grade 5 to 10 schools ("Hauptschule") is a priority task, followed by the transfer of funds from early selection to late selection types of schools, that means empowering the already existing comprehensive schools to the detriment of high schools ("Gymnasium") (Max Planck Institute 1983, p. 163 ff.; Heinemann 1985).

To sum up: Generally, the most effective measures for combating the diploma disease are also valuable measures for democratizing education: introducing problem-oriented and diversified curricula, examination reforms and abolishing early selection. The introduction of certain elements of chance to tests and examinations must be added: although it hardly affects the disease, it fosters an equalization of opportunities.

3.5 Transforming Compensatory Education into a Strategy of Positive Discrimination: Curricula, Methods, Administration

There is no sector of the education system that is not suffering from social and cultural disparities. This calls for combining measures in teaching, curriculum development, administration, planning, policy and

legislation of education.

In the United States, beginning with "Head Start" in the mid-sixties, a series of "compensatory education" programmes were designed for the "socially disadvantaged", on pre-school, primary and secondary levels. Most of the school-based projects, however, failed the objective of raising educational achievement or IQ. Similarly, isolated desegregation measures such as "busing", i.e. transporting disadvantaged children every morning to schools situated in better-off neighbourhoods did not work very well. Contrary to its intentions, it deteriorated school availability in black and minority residential areas (Newby 1982). Other programmes that included home-based trainings for parents, for example on how to create a stimulating environment, brought about significant effects. Similarly, projects on secondary level which provided new curricula with particular emphasis on general cognitive capacities yielded good results (Havighurst/Levine 1979, p. 221 ff.).

Education programmes designed particularly for cultural minorities also were the more successful the more they gave up the idea of providing simply more education for the disadvantaged, and turned instead to innovations such as "bilingual education" or integrating the life-world of minority cultures into the curriculum (Smolicz 1979, for Australia).

There is, however, much criticism of the "compensatory stigma" of all those programmes that treat the socially and culturally disadvantaged mainly as lacking abilities or culture techniques. One of the first critics, William Labov (1970), attacked the middle-class bias of a compensatory education that aims at adapting working-class children to the middle-class world. Similarly, Ramirez and Castaneda (1974) proscribed the "melting pot ideology" that legitimizes "mainstreaming" children of cultural minority groups. They developed first the idea of an integrated "bi-cultural" and "bi-cognitive" education for all schools. This concept is based on regard-

ing particularities of dominant and dominated cultures as equally valuable: for example, individualism and orientation towards collectivity, abstract and concrete or holistic modes of thinking. Ramirez and Castaneda proposed evaluating teachers and students along those criteria and offering them "remedial training" in order to cope with the "deficiencies" on the less developed dimension of personality and cognitive capacities. Rotation schemes of exchanging teachers and students between the two different cultural contexts are part of the thus designed programme of curriculum reform. There is sufficient evidence of the efficiency of such "bi"- or "transcultural" education, based on curricula and teaching/learning methods related to the life-worlds and experience of the better-off as well as of the "disadvantaged". There is an alternative to compensatory programmes. Most Western countries, however, preferred coping with cultural diversity in developing "multicultural education". This strategy keeps minorities and majorities largely separated (or comes close to forced adaptive integration): Normally, some colourful units on "the life of other cultures" are added to the standard curriculum, whereas particular remedial and compensatory measures are reserved for minority children (Schöfthaler 1985c). This does not really affect disparities and is therefore unlikely to meet the demands of a democratization strategy. Transcultural, i.e. bi-cultural and bi-cognitive education allows the planners to desegregate schooling wherever possible. Recent experience with teaching in culturally and socially mixed classrooms underlines, however, the need for particular methods of individualized instruction (Hopf 1984).

Research on regional disparities in education (Carron/Ta Ngoc Châu 1980a, b; 1981) identified centralized financing and administration as one of the major obstacles to reducing those inequalities, particularly in Third World countries. There are many concepts of decentralizing education: from deconcentrating administration to temporarily delegating authority to

subnational bodies to developing a hierarchical system of control. And there are various fields of applying those concepts, from curriculum planning to financing, examinations and teacher training and recruitment (Lauglo/McLean 1985). This necessitates identifying those decentralization strategies that are more likely to reduce disparities than others. Three out of them seem to meet particularly democratization objectives:

- Delegation or devolution of authority to regional and district levels with providing centrally administered equalizing funds and paying special attention to hardship areas (Bray 1984; Makau 1985).
- Transfer of responsibilities, for deciding on quality or quantity preferences for educational development, to those bodies which represent local or regional resources of schooling, be they financial or labour support (Schöffthaler 1985b).
- Central provision of training for decision-makers on local and regional level, including members of district development committees, school committees, school boards and parents-and-teachers associations. This issue is closely related to a concept of regional planning which aims at integrating agricultural and school development (Berstecher 1985).

The need for balancing central and local responsibilities applies also to legal measures for reducing disparities. Various ways of introducing quota regulations to financing, admission, examinations and employment have been successful. The People's Republic of China has long experience in fixing pass rates, cut-off marks and other transition and entrance regulations in favour of cultural minorities (Straka 1983, p. 159 ff.). Similar good experience is reported from university admission by regional quota in Sri Lanka (Rabaweera et al. 1985, p. 136 ff.). In some countries, however, it seems difficult to overcome the widespread opinion that national screening by achievement was more democratic than control of selection by quota. In Papua New Guinea national screening is to be re-introduced although

provincial quota have admittedly contributed to reducing inter-provincial disparities (Bray 1984). In Kenya the quota system is limited to the access to the few national secondary schools (Makau 1985). In Hungary the measures had to be limited to giving some priority, in admission to higher education, to applicants with work experience (Adám 1979).

This highlights the need for an integrated strategy of positive discrimination. It includes a policy of continuously monitoring the actual rates of negative discrimination (with using data on funds allocation, as calculated by Jencks 1972 or Boudon 1974; data on attainments by gender, class or region, as provided by Carron and Ta Ngoc Châu 1980 ff. and by Bray 1984). Part of such a strategy is: demanding from politicians, administrators and local communities to legitimize their decisions on education from the background of equality of opportunities. Some countries have already established special departments or even ministries for monitoring the struggle against discrimination of women. Lodge and Blackstone (1982, p. 113 ff.) note that the results of positive discrimination in Great Britain were disappointing mainly because too much has been expected from legislation alone. It is the women's movement mainly that reminds the public of the need of pursuing the struggle for equal rights and opportunities as long as inequalities continue to affect disadvantaged groups (Stockard et al. 1980).

To resume: Nearly all measures for reducing social and cultural disparities fit well to a democratization strategy. Of particular relevance seem to be reforms of teaching methods and curricula which are designed to change both, education for the better-off and schooling of the disadvantaged; decentralization of administration, balanced with a centrally governed equalizing policy, and subnational bodies participating in decision-making; a strategy of positive discrimination which includes legislation and public mobilization by monitoring information on disparities.

3.6 Opening the Minds by an Overall "Decolonization" of Schooling

Formal education conveys a lot of abstract knowledge the structure of which seduces learners to mystify reality in two ways: taking taxonomies for the real order of things, and taking the manipulation of words for really changing what is named by them. This is why bridging the gap between knowledge and experience is essential for attacking prejudices on class, culture and gender differences that have been identified as obstacles to democratization of education. Measures to be taken are these of revising curricula and teaching methods and supporting the opening of the learners' minds by administrative and political backing and input.

Carnoy (1974, p. 366 ff.) draws his proposal of combating "colonized knowledge" from the experience with Paulo Freire's "conscientization" method and from the reality of "free schools". Carnoy's ideas aim at "undoing behavior patterns", learned in hierarchical family and social structures, by creating a "critical awareness of society" (p. 368).

This is indeed a valuable leitmotif with, however, some bias towards educational optimism. In fact, the first step is preventing learners from being "colonized" by factual knowledge at school. Alrabaa (1985, p. 335) resumes her analysis of sex division of labour in Syrian school textbooks in criticizing the books' bias towards stereotyping gender rôles and creating motives for legitimizing and enlarging existing discrepancies between men and women: The textbooks give only a "pale reflection of Arab women in Arab history and literature ... (They) portray males for a bustling world of decision-making, while conditioning the females to seek fulfilment in the background where servitude and support are the only requirement." Differing in degree, but following the same method of sex-typing the world of labour, a textbook's bias against women was identified in industrialized countries as well (Australia: Connell et al. 1982; U.S.: Stockard et al. 1980). Similarly, teaching and learning materials

were often found fostering and creating biased views of foreigners (FRG: Schmitt 1979). In particular the teaching about the Third World in industrialized countries (and vice versa) was found ethnocentric -- a very crucial issue because of pupils having no opportunity to get counterpoising experience (FRG: Fohrbeck et al. 1971).

Measures to be taken are well known but, in many countries, not yet very well implemented. Most encouraging was the work of bi-lateral groups, bringing together representatives of the people concerned by biased information: men and women, workers' unions and intellectuals, indigenous and foreign population, the former colonizers and the former colonized. A good example was provided by bi-lateral West-German and Polish groups of history textbook authors who started in the 1970s (and still continue) to revise any information given in German textbooks on Poland and vice versa, as far as possible following the principle of mutual agreement. Under the auspices of the United Nations Institute for Namibia a bi-lateral German and Namibian group of social scientists and educationists started with both revising existing teaching and learning materials concerning former colonial history and its consequences (Namibia was a German colony from 1884 to 1915) and writing new books for the use in social studies, geography and history lessons in both countries. This is, in the case of Namibia, due to ongoing colonial oppression by the South African apartheid regime, restricted to U.N.I.N. supervised teaching at schools for Namibian refugees; in the case of West-Germany, only the "Land" (state) of Bremen has already accepted the materials produced so far for official use at schools while other states are still hesitating (the first two textbooks: Melber 1984; Patemann 1984). The term "mutual decolonization" used for labelling this latter type of creating new unbiased teaching and learning materials (Hinz 1982; Schöfthaler 1984b) could apply to the other prejudiced areas as well.

The idea of changing the reality of schooling by reforming examina-

tions has also been implemented in this direction. For example, the government of Gambia designed secondary school examinations that break with the tradition of providing particular sections on home economics for the girls and on technology for the boys: both sexes have to answer questions of all sections, including the two mentioned. An ILO report situates this measure in the framework of an integrated approach of attacking the "paper qualification syndrome (PQS)" (which is a particular kind of the "diploma disease"). The mathematics paper, for instance, is guided by this principle on three dimensions: "The first is to show that numeracy is truly a 'life' or 'survival' skill, helpful in almost any sphere of human activity. In this it militates of course against the abstraction and compartmentalisation induced by the PQS. The second is clearly to show that agriculture, being an area where numeracy is useful, is conversely an area worthy of the work of the numerate, educated person, just as much as the technical area. Third is the obvious desire to corrode stereotypes about approximate divisions of labour between the sexes." (ILO 1982, p. 120 f.) In a similar vein, the above discussed Sierra Leonean project on "indigenous technology" (Cole/Hamilton 1978; 1979), with its use of local resource persons such as blacksmiths in science teaching, and using knowledge on and experience in indigenous technologies for evidencing basic laws of physics and chemistry, succeeded in breaking with the notorious stereotype of colonized learning: that science and technology were genuinely modern ingredients of industrialized society, and that no such thing had African roots. Of additional importance were the project's findings on the various fields of women's experience with technologies in the different regions of the country (for instance in palm-oil processing and soap production).

Starting with such small steps of counteracting possible negative school effects, the implementation of major programmes and ideas will be facilitated eventually: for example, transforming schooling to a force of

liberation or even to a nucleus of "internationalism" in the world system, thus combating ethnocentrism inbuilt in every culture (Naumann 1985). It has to be underscored that "education for liberation" relies on practised international solidarity: The cage of colonized knowledge has to be made visible, by colonizers and colonized, before identifying ways to break it.

Prejudices and stereotypes are of a psychological structure similar to self-esteem which was discussed in the above 2.6 section, regarding consequences on class and gender discrimination. Hence, it should be possible to change some aspects of negative self-conception and anxiety, which were presented as personality traits of "low achievers", by attacking the full range of biased knowledge and trying to transform it into open-minded learning about oneself and his immediate and remote surroundings. Theodor W. Adorno and his colleagues, in their classical study on "The Authoritarian Personality", revealed ethnocentrism as being the manifestation of a world view which is organized in concentric circles: "Whites, Americans, native-born Americans, Christians, Protestants, Californians, my family, and finally -- I." (Adorno et al. 1950, p. 148) There is no biased self-conception without prejudices against others, and vice versa.

To resume: Attacking prejudices is prerequisite of designing "education for liberation". Of particular importance are measures taken in order to revise textbooks, examinations and curricula and to establish a network of "mutual decolonization" for co-operatively producing teaching and learning materials by representatives of the groups concerned: colonizers and colonized. Organizational measures such as the exchange device discussed in the above 3.5 section, with regard to bi-cultural education, could be very helpful. For establishing the network of international cooperation in attacking prejudices in the classroom, the United Nations system should be used by national governments more intensely than it is used today. And the model of bi-lateral textbook commissions should be developed further.

4. Desperately Questioning World Society: Third World Views

The above review on "democratization of education" had to cope with the marked difference between the author's conviction that equal footing is as possible as necessary in international and cross-cultural communication on the one hand, and the reality of an emerging world system of science and technology which is largely dominated by a few industrialized countries. Assuming a "neutral" position seems to be a possibility only for those scientific communities which profit from the uneven distribution of resources and privileges. Too often this "neutrality" leads to paternalistic attitudes towards the "poor" colleagues of Third World countries who are considered struggling with survival and very basic problems "only" and are, hence, seen as lacking sophistication on all levels of knowledge, science and technology. A similar attitude of the shareholders of "cultural capital" in Western industrial societies towards the "broad masses" was identified in section 2.5 above.

Those who do not like such paternalistic preoccupation very often become victims of just another ideological trap: to re-name disparities and inequality within the world system by misused terminology of cultural identity and diversity, so that dreams of "unity in diversity" are felt coming true without having changed anything but words.

The author does not know how to avoid both traps at the same time: the traditional paternalism and self-containedness of Westerners and the more recently invented verbal magic tricks -- not even mentioning the various kinds of hidden neo-colonialism and meritocratic attitude of the "haves" towards the "have-nots".

Hence, the author decided to present the views of three colleagues from Africa, Asia and Latin America on democratizing education and society. None of the following statements can easily be accepted or rejected. They prevent, however, the reader from prematurely drawing "consensual" conclusions.

sions on the democratization issue.

M. Mbilinyi attacks the "basic education for all" policy as serving recent ideological needs for legitimization of inequality; V. G. Kulkarni regards the strategy of "universalizing education" as creating more wastage and stagnation; F. Arbab doubts if adapting education and training to the needs of rural well-being can be meaningful unless the modern sectors, South and North, stop sucking away the fruits of the hard labour of the hundreds of millions of rural inhabitants of the world. All these statements have in common a marked skepticism against nicely dressed policies and strategies of democratizing education and society in a world-wide perspective. Their doubts seem to be fed by deeply experiencing the contrast between high-flying programmes and the remaining misery. Hence, the authors do not develop particular programmes for democratizing education in their countries and regions; instead they are attacking verbal magic tricks and appeal for establishing a new world order.

4.1 Marjorie Mbilinyi on "basic education for all"

"It is now necessary for foreign capital to control the ideological socialization of the peasants and workers in order to ensure their acceptance of and capacity to adapt productively to the demands of foreign capital. This is where universal basic education reform comes in. Thus far, basic education (whether schooling or adult education) has not led to measurable increases in productivity ... The skills and knowledge base of curriculum reform represents a very low level of science and technology, characteristic of hoe-culture stages of development and lower than the level of technology already reached by kulaks and some more advanced areas. What is being seriously emphasized in underdeveloped societies are ideological objectives ...

What have the specific ideological objectives of basic education

reform become in practice? First, 'cooling' expectations of parents and children for higher education and vertical class mobility. Second, adjustment to one's place as exploited producer. Third, the learning of punctuality, submission to authority, orderliness, individual responsibility; orientation to extrinsic, material and individualistic rewards and punishments -- all of which can be subsumed under the rubric of the proper 'work-orientation', in a context of alienation and exploitation. Fourth, the legitimization of a schooling system which allocates a minority to higher education; examinations are fundamental to the mystification of the class bias in such allocation mechanisms. Fifth, the legitimization of class relationships between foreign capital and peasants and workers; between the local ruling class and the peasants and workers. Sixth, the camouflage of foreign capital's investment in basic education reform by labelling such reform as a rejection of 'foreign imported models'." (Mbilinyi 1979, p. 28 f.)

4.2 V. G. Kulkarni on "universalisation of education"

"Having realised the importance of universalising education, an all-out effort is launched to achieve this objective. However, the perception of the task is basically wrong. It is conceived as a programme of giving more of the same to many more people. The emphasis is, therefore, placed on generating infrastructure, solving problems of management and above all on creating and mobilising resources. Aspects like undertaking research to identify the real stumbling blocks, increasing the relevance of learning tasks to real life situations, and relating education to productivity are often sidetracked ... Ignoring these aspects has been one of the major causes for the alarming drop-out rate, wastage and stagnation in education, in spite of a tremendous effort to generate a gigantic infrastructure." (Kulkarni 1985, p. 146)

4.3 Farzam Arbab on "engineers for rural well-being"

"As the base of the pyramid of workers in rural well-being widens, the Rural University and its graduates find greater opportunities to set in motion the other learning processes and increase the range of their activities.

Yet, a basic question remains unanswered: can these processes indeed generate strong enough forces to counteract the forces of social disintegration? ... The hundreds of millions of rural inhabitants of the world are oppressed by a world system consisting of the two strong contending powers and their many subsidiaries and variations. By simple inertia or by design, the fruits of the hard labour of these millions are sucked away and are channelled to finance the thousands of mechanisms, including reform and revolution, used for the maintenance of the world system, and its favourite occupation, the production of weapons of destruction. Can the inhabitants of Norte del Cauca truly hope for a higher level of material well-being under these conditions? ...

Change at the village level is only half of the challenge of development. The so-called developed world, including the modern sector of Third World countries, also has to change; in the final analysis, a prosperous village in Norte del Cauca can only exist as an organic part of a totally new world order." (Arbab 1985, p. 142)

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